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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 65, No. 9 **Whole Number 557**

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November, 1958

COVER

Camille Pettus, 19, comes from Atlantic City, N. J., but is now a resident of Flushing, N. Y. Camille graduated from the Jamaica High School, Jamaica, and is now working as a typist-receptionist in New York City. Her ambition is to become a legal stenographer-secretary. Her hobbies are boating, swimming and dancing.

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Cecil Layne

DUKE ELLINGTON *and Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, co-chairman of the NAACP 1958 Freedom Fund Drive, join NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins (standing) in calling for support of the NAACP's annual $100-a-couple Freedom Fund dinner at the Hotel Roosevelt on November 16.*

A. Hansen Studio

MRS. FLO THORNLEY *of the Club Les Dixiem purchases the first ticket to the $100.00 couple dinner of the NAACP 1958 Freedom Fund Dinner from Russell Crawford (R), president of the New York City branch of the NAACP.*

■ An analytical survey of the problems which often arise at southern Negro colleges with Negro-white faculties

Race Relations at Negro Colleges

By August Meier

A FEW years ago a colleague of mine spoke wistfully of how, just before she began her work at a leading Negro university in the Upper South her sophisticated New York friends had waxed enthusiastic over the model of interracial relations she was undoubtedly about to witness. For though some would deny that the situation at this university is less than ideal, it had taken her but a few months to grasp that, to a striking extent, social groupings there followed racial lines.

There has been little serious discussion of race relations at Negro colleges with mixed faculties. Until recently only certain church related schools employed white teachers, and it was assumed that Christian brotherhood was the rule at such institutions. Even when secular liberals began teaching at Negro colleges in significant numbers, comparable ideological considerations discouraged detached analysis of social relationships on mixed faculties.

Two studies, however, deserve mention. Recently a graduate student at Stetson University, on the basis of a survey conducted by mailing questionnaires, concluded that "all but five per cent of the white teachers in the study claimed 'good rapport' with their Negro colleagues."[1] It should be noted, however, that only about a third of the people who received questionnaires responded,[2] and it is likely that a number of those who did respond glossed over certain matters and rather gilded the lily.

Actually, for this sort of investigation, careful case-studies are necessary. A significant step in this direction was an article by "a former faculty wife" that appeared in *Social Forces* about ten years ago. Describing the situation among the married

DR. AUGUST MEIER, *a frequent contributor to* The Crisis *and a member of the NAACP, teaches history at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.*

couples on the campus of a small liberal arts college during the war, she concluded that significant cultural differences between Negroes and whites caused the personal "friction," that is present at any college, to roughly "follow racial lines" at that particular school. The white couples, she reported, tended to be the "Quaker-work-camp variety of liberal," opposed to fraternities, "pacifists, co-operators, folk-dancing enthusiasts, committed to internationalism and interracialism . . . advocates of the simple life, and . . . generally 'religious.'" The Negro couples on the other hand were usually deeply involved in fraternity life, tended more to conspicuous consumption, were Christians but relatively indifferent to religious matters, were not pacifists, were not particularly interested in social issues other than the race problem, and preferred a formal social life. Thus she concluded that in all matters, except racial attitudes, the Negro teachers had more in common with typical middle class whites against whose values the white teachers were actually in "rebellion." Since there was a lack of shared values, "the result is that when people really want to enjoy themselves, they do it in a segregated social life, in this haven of interracial concord."[3]

The following pages are in the nature of a prolegomenon to the scientific analysis of race relations at Negro colleges. They are based upon a total of eight years teaching experience at three Negro colleges, visits to several more, and such relevant information as colleagues and other informants were generous enough to share with me. Only colleges about which I feel I have enough material to draw a valid picture are discussed. However, the reader should bear in mind that the conclusions reached in the following pages are tentative in nature, since the discussion is based chiefly upon personal experiences at certain colleges at certain times. Individuals of a different temperament, or of a different cultural background than the author's, might very possibly have received different impressions; and there is good reason to believe that the situation at some schools has altered radically within the space of a few years.

SOCIAL ISOLATION

At a leading small liberal arts college in the lower Mississippi Valley where I taught from 1945 to 1949, I was, according to one of my Negro colleagues, perhaps the best "integrated" white member of the faculty. This was so especially my first year, when, despite the social fragmentation characteristic of faculty life on the campus, and the social isolation experienced by many faculty members of both races, I found myself the only white member of a clique of four younger teachers who exercised such social leadership as existed there. The "cabal," as the dean jocularly labeled us, despite its interracial character, patronized restaurants and theaters in the nearest city (four miles from the rural campus). On campus the "cabal" gave dances and parties that were the envy of the uninvited, and with its "satellites" played bridge at least once—and often twice—daily (so that I eventually became an indifferent bridge player).

This clique soon fell apart, and the realities of faculty life at this school emerged in clear focus. It appeared

that in spite of its ideological patterns of racial equality and human brotherhood some of the white faculty, motivated by a "missionary spirit," were essentially paternalistic and condescendingly sentimental toward Negroes, rather than genuinely equalitarian. By "missionary spirit" I mean the old-fashioned "do-gooder" attitude, characterized by the idea of doing things *for* a degraded people rather than working with individuals on a democratic level. One white teacher admitted to "serving" at the college because of a "guilt complex" concerning her attitude toward Negroes. Distinctly associated with this "missionary spirit" was a sort of "martyr complex," well reflected in the attitude widely held by many Negroes and whites connected with the school, that the white faculty were to be praised and thanked for the "great sacrifices" they were making for the "cause," rather than to be evaluated and accepted as individual personalities.

This "missionary spirit," strongly evident in much of the school's publicity literature, was historically rerelated to its Congregational Church connection. This is not in itself unfortunate. Religious idealism generally has made notable contributions in the field of Negro education. And at its best the religious tradition has produced some remarkable individuals. The most universally admired, loved and respected faculty member during my years at this institution was a man who represented the finest flower of this religious and missionary spirit (though even he was not "social"). But such individuals are exceptional.

More characteristic were the paternalistic white presidents and the condescending white faculty. The wife of one of them told a Negro faculty member that he was such a fine person that it was too bad he was colored. The wife of another white administrator informed a new white faculty member that they were on "pins and needles" because the head of the English department was a Negro who, that year, had only white women working under him. One of the presidents at times expressed pity over the treatment of Negroes in Mississippi, yet strongly opposed the establishment of a campus chapter of the NAACP. This same person was annoyed when he felt that discrimination on the part of Negro faculty members was what led to largely segregated eating patterns among the faculty in the college dining hall, yet was upset when a Negro woman from another state visited a white male faculty member for a few days. Then there was the white woman who told a student who did not rise when she entered the room in which he was working that "a polite white boy" would have stood up when she came in. Some of the faculty were in fact mildly and unconsciously prejudiced toward Negroes, tended to feel socially distinct from them, and always referred condescendingly to Negroes as "your people" or "their people." Others became obsessed with the idea that the Negroes generally would not associate with them, were in fact prejudiced against whites and desired their removal from the faculty.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Naturally such attitudes could scarcely undo the hostilities and re-

sentments engendered in Negroes by the American race system. And so there was another side to the picture. Certain Negro colleagues have informed me that some of the Negro faculty actually did not care for the white teachers, and would have preferred their not being at the college. On one occasion all the children of the Negro faculty were invited to a party, but the only two white children on campus were not, even though they were neighbors who played together daily. Moreover, many of the Negro teachers were distinctly ambivalent in their attitude toward whites.

Revealing indeed was the incident reported to me by a Negro member of the college staff who said that when a new president was being selected in 1947, some of the colored teachers expressed the view that the college was not yet ready for a Negro president. Such an attitude of course reflected an unsound relationship between Negroes and whites at this particular school and persistence of the traditions of missionary paternalism.

Other differences in cultural background and personality types also undoubtedly played their role in setting the tone of interracial relationships at the institution we have been describing. Quite unique for this school was the case of the liberal white pacifist who was looked down on by the Negro faculty because he lacked their middle class tastes, paid scant attention to dress and drove a battered small imported car (before such cars were as fashionable as they are now). The majority of the faculty and administrators professed a deep concern with the Christian way of living, but many of the Negro faculty had a hedonistic orientation toward life quite out of keeping with the attitude of the more straitlaced "missionaries." Moreover, Negroes had a fraternal life not shared by any of the whites. That many faculty members of both races were not completely emancipated on the matter of interracial relations became evident in the objections widely voiced when a colored faculty member became engaged to one of the white teachers.

It should of course be emphasized that some Negroes and whites on the faculty did enjoy wholesome social relationships with each other. Nevertheless, to the extent that there were social cliques, they tended, to a remarkable extent, to follow racial lines.

INTERRACIAL HOSTILITY

Another school where missionary traditions seem to have fostered interracial hostility on the faculty is a noted industrial school founded by a Union general shortly after the Civil War in the Upper South. Visiting the school for a week of research in 1952, I found it evident, just from observing the seating arrangements in the faculty dining room, that race and social clique were highly correlated. According to the Chinese teachers — who by virtue of their acceptance by both of the other races, were unusually good informants—the social relations between whites and Negroes were "rotten." Many of the whites associated with white townspeople, and on crucial occasions adopted the latter's point of view. The one young, liberal white teacher I met seemed to be snubbed by some of his Negro colleagues.

As a matter of fact an examination of the school's history and the attitudes of its founder and early presidents would lead one to suspect that unfortunate traditions of missionary paternalism would linger long there. As late as the 1930's, as a person who taught there at that time has told me, most of the Negro teachers were in the trade school: two-thirds of the college department was staffed by whites, who were paid more than the Negro teachers. There were no Negroes in policy making positions; those who held administrative posts were generally regarded as acquiescing in white decisions. The school even hired local white high-school graduates as secretaries instead of employing its own graduates. White administrators in policy-making positions, and retired white teachers who still lived on the campus, set the dominant tone in race relations. They felt constrained to prohibit anything that might be offensive to the local white community, and frequently in their personal attitudes were condescending rather than equalitarian. Negroes in fact regarded some of them—including a leading administrator—as prejudiced. In earlier years there had even been incidents of white faculty members refusing to sit next to Negroes in the faculty dining hall. Many of the older white faculty associated socially with local whites, and Negroes felt that they were influenced by the views of their southern friends. This group of administrators and older white faculty members avoided discussion of the race problem; a favorite phase was "We have no problem." And they opposed agitation against disfranchisement and segregation, they said, because Negroes were not ready for integration. As the school's founder had held, when Negroes were ready, they would get their rights without difficulty. Newer white faculty members tended to be more liberal; a few socialized with Negroes. But most of the "newer whites" found it wise to either conform to the pattern set by the dominant white element, or to resign after a year or so.[4]

Far more cosmopolitan than either of the schools thus far discussed was the distinguished university of the Upper South where I worked from 1953 to 1956. Here the missionary spirit had practically disappeared, and the motivations prompting the white faculty to teach there were highly varied. There were, of course, a few of the old fashioned missionary group, like the mediocrity who was acutely conscious of the value of her "contribution" to Negro education. Many years before she had begun teaching at a Negro college as preparation for missionary work in Asia. After a year at the Negro college, however, she decided that there was plenty of missionary work to be done right here, and consequently she had remained at Negro colleges ever since. There were also a few of the latter-day missionary type, like the young faculty wife who told me that because whites had made Negroes suffer for so long, white faculty members should willingly accept unfair actions from their colleagues as long as they are Negroes. A small group of what appeared to be Communists or fellow-travelers were active in protest movements against discrimination; but, despite considerable student support, they were not

liked by most of their colleagues, white or Negro. There were also a handful of secular liberals; a number of older mediocrities who—like their Negro counterparts—had no place else they could go; and a sizeable group who were there simply because the school was a highly-rated institution. Most of the Negroes were typically middle class, interested in fraternities, clubs and card games. Several were persons of considerable distinction nationally.

RACIAL LINES

Like the two schools described above, though for different reasons, social-clique lines at this university tended to follow racial lines, and that tendency has increased in the past few years as more white faculty members have bought homes in town rather than living on campus. It was common for Negro faculty members to accept dinner invitations to the homes of the white faculty, without returning the invitation. The Faculty Club was split between those who wanted card games, formal dinners and dances, and those who wanted more informal entertainment or some sort of cultural activity; and this division was in considerable part correlated with racial lines. Official functions, of course, were interracial—though one colleague informed me that during the preceding administration it had always been the white women who poured tea. At one faculty party, before I came to the university, it was reported that after the whites had departed, around ten p.m., the party really began. Recently, at another party held at the home of a white faculty member, the Negroes left early and a couple of whites regaled the remaining guests with shocking remarks to the effect that Negro youth were unable to understand great literature, or sing the musical classics. Personally I shall never forget one night when I visited one of my closest friends on the campus, a cultured and intellectual Negro faculty member. He informed me that a faculty wife had called and invited him to a gathering at her home in honor of some distinguished visitors. When told that I would be visiting him, she naturally invited me also. It was distinctly a gathering of campus elite, and many of the more distinguished faculty celebrities were present. Needless to say it was readily apparent that I was the only white person present. So widely practiced was this segregated social life that one white professor talked proudly of how he and his wife were the first white persons to be invited to a certain Negro colleague's home, and of how they were the first white people asked to join a Negro social-musical club. Illustrative of the parochial attitudes engendered in Negroes by the American race system were the remarks of one sophisticated administrator, a widely traveled, eminent and puissant scholar, who once explained to me that the continued existence of the Negro college was justified because Negroes who attended white colleges failed to develop a realistic view of the world and consequently—he alleged—displayed a remarkable tendency toward suicide.

There seemed to have been a variety of reasons for the considerable correlation of social and racial lines at this university—though as elsewhere there were some striking exceptions to this generalization. Per-

haps to some extent the situation was a survival from earlier missionary traditions; the preceding president, for example, who had done much to restore the school's tarnished intellectual reputation, was widely regarded as rather anti-Negro (though it was also said that townspeople thought him too radical). More significant perhaps is that a substantial group among the Negro faculty were upper-class Negroes with the values and attitudes of an upper-class toward the middle class whereas the white faculty was definitely middle-class whites. As a group of distinguished Negro professors told a *Time* reporter at a luncheon I was privileged to attend at the president's house, they regarded themselves as socially on a level with upper-class whites. To some extent the situation was due, undoubtedly, to the fact that the local Negro community had its own club and fraternal structure in which college people played a leading role but in which whites had no part. Finally, there was undoubtedly a cleavage of interest between most of the Negroes and the group of intellectual and liberal whites. As E. Franklin Frazier has pointed out the interests and values of middle-class Negro professors are actually closer to those of middle-class prejudiced whites than to those of the liberal intellectuals on the campus.[5] A number of white faculty members were disillusioned by the lack of true intellectual interest at the university, noted though it was for its scholarly and artistic tradition. That this dissimilarity of interests rather than race feeling was at the bottom of much of the social distinctions between the races at this school was forcibly brought home to me on a visit to nearby state university. At the conclusion of the panel discussion in which I had participated, a faculty wife discreetly inquired of me if I played bridge. My negative reply naturally led her to pursue the subject no further, for I was simply not available for card-playing society.

VARIETY OF FACTORS

Illustrative of the large variety of factors that can enter into social relationships at Negro colleges with mixed faculties is a noted university and college center in the southeast, which I have visited several times in the past half dozen years. While most of the white professors there tend to be very peripheral socially, a few of them have moved freely in Negro upper-class circles. In part this may be due to the rather congenial manner of certain of the white teachers; in part it may well be due to the emancipated attitude of many among the city's Negro upper class—widely enough travelled both in the United States and abroad to have absorbed cosmopolitan attitudes, and secure enough in their wealth and social position to accept whites as individuals more readily than upper class Negroes in other southern cities. Other factors involved may include the fact that the city enjoys unusually good race relations for the Deep South, and the social patterns set by certain leading Negro administrators in the colleges themselves.

Personally I found at this university and its affiliated colleges the most complete acceptance as an individual that I have enjoyed at any Negro school. In addition to the factors discussed above, this seemed

to have been due to the excellent introductions I came with, to the congeniality of intellectual interest I had with several of the people I met, to the sophisticated character of many of the faculty (educated at the best northern and western universities), and perhaps most of all to the fact that I stayed at the graduate dormitory where many other single young faculty lived and took their meals. This situation encouraged a sort of social relationship that was not possible at other schools where the faculty lived in more scattered fashion and where there were few single young men and women teachers.[6]

STATE SCHOOLS

A relatively new phenomenon are Negro state schools with white faculty members. In contrast to most of the private schools I have observed, not only is a long tradtion of mixed teachers lacking, but the white professors are in a tiny minority.

Because the state college where I have taught since the fall of 1957 is a much larger institution than any of the others discussed, and because unlike the other schools at which I have taught the faculty do not live on the campus, it is difficult to generalize about race relations there. The school is located in a border state, and the administrative policy is one of integration—the college has both white faculty and students. The handful of white faculty all appear to have come to the institution simply for a job. The Negro faculty range from persons who have white spouses and those who seek participation in interracial civic organizations to those who are reputed to feel that the college should not employ white teachers.

An article on integration a few years ago by one professor indicated his essential ambivalence toward integration by citing certain advantages to be derived from segregated schools, though he concluded that the advantages of integration certainly outweigh those of a segregated system. Certain department chairmen feel that they have to be careful about employing too great a proportion of white teachers, lest they incur criticism from some of their Negro colleagues.

As far as I can ascertain social relationships off the campus between white and Negro colleagues are generally quite limited, though it should be pointed out that outside of several cliques the college is not characterized by an active social life among faculty members. During my first year there I was invited to the homes of three Negro professors for purely social purposes; though as at the noted university in the upper South described above I was on excellent terms professionally with members of the Negro faculty who did not invite me to their homes socially. A white professor at the state college who entertains considerably, receives significantly less invitations from Negroes than he extends. One white professor was elected to an important committee; however, it has been said (though I am not able to say how widely this view is shared) that his election was due to his equable temperament and to the fact that he was not involved in the personal frictions and politics existing among the Negroes themselves. On the other hand there is at least one white

teacher who is on very friendly terms with a couple of the colored teachers.

That the white teachers at this state college function to a considerable extent as a minority group is evident from the view of some Negro colleagues who warned me that if a white teacher missed a faculty meeting he was conspicuous by his absence (even though certain of the Negro teachers, who are as fair as the white teachers in complexion, would not be noticed if absent). As to the factors responsible for what would appear to be the significant correlation between social clique and race at this state college, I judge that cultural and personality factors comparable to those described in connection with the Upper South university are responsible.

Thus it would appear that at most of the schools with which I have had extended contact there is a significant correlation between race and social grouping, though the number of interracial friendships should not be minimized. Nor do I mean to suggest that because the situation is not ideal that mixed faculties have been a failure. On the contrary, given the sort of society in which we live, it would be surprising to have perfection; and the interracial faculties at Negro colleges have certainly made an important contribution in furthering intergroup understanding. At some it may be chiefly the Quaker-type of social idealism that sets off the white from the Negro faculty; at others it may be primarily a gap in intellectual interests. Significantly, in all the colleges where I have taught, to the extent that there are people who accept individuals without regard to race and who share mutual values and interests, the correlation between race and social clique disappears.

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* Thanks are due to the *Unitarian Register* for permission to use in revised form August Meier and Chester Slocum's "Tougaloo College Revisited," (November, 1951), pp. 29-30.

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6. On the other hand it should be pointed out that comparable living arrangements at this school were not able to overcome the unfortunate attitudes engendered there for other reasons.

Sinclair Studio

ROSELYN BROWN *of Jersey City, New Jersey receives $500.00 scholarship check from Charles Cooper, president of the Le Bastio Club. Miss Brown is a member of the New Jersey youth council.*

WILLIAM A. LITTLE, *owner of Dud Cleaners and Hatters, Chicago, Illinois, presents $100.00 check to M. T. Blanton (center), chairman life membership committee Chicago, Illinois, branch. Branch president Theodore Jones (L) looks on.*

ALBERT BREACH *presents a check for $300.00 to Laska Strachan (R), president of the Central Long Island, New York, branch. The check represents a second payment on an NAACP life membership for each of the six members of the Centurion Club.*

■ Why whites and Negroes in Liverpool, England, are suspicious of one another.

Color Bar in Liverpool

By Gabriel Gersh

CLIMB up the hill from the center of Liverpool, and when you have passed the Cathedral, looming pink and new through the summer mist, you will notice something unexpected along the streets between the grim-faced houses: the faces of many of the passers-by are brown or black.

This is the district whose 8,000 colored inhabitants make up one of the biggest colored communities in the British Isles. Apart from London, the other principal colored concentrations are the old-established one in Cardiff (5,000 to 6,000) and the newer ones in Birmingham (6,000) and Manchester (about 8,000).

Unlike London's colored community, with its large middle-class element, the Liverpool group, with the exception of about fifty university students and a few professional men, is almost entirely working class, engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled labor—or in too many cases seeking work.

Most of these men (and men predominate) exchanged the sunshine of the West Indies, West Africa, Somaliland—even India and China—for the grey skies of Liverpool in the hope of escaping poverty at home and making good in what they expected to be a promised land of opportunity. (There is no truth in the prevalent rumor that they came with the idea of living in idleness at the expense of the Welfare State.)

When they reach Liverpool, in most cases with no money for a return passage, they find things very different from the picture in their minds. Yet if you sit one evening in any Negro home (it is likely to be a crowded boarding-house) in Liverpool, it is only the most recent arrivals who complain of bad living conditions. The complaints of others—and, as in minority groups almost everywhere, these form the substance of most conversation—can be summed up in one word: prejudice, real or imagined.

GABRIEL GERSH, *who recently returned from Liverpool, is a contributor to* Commonweal, New Leader, Phylon, *and many other magazines. He lives in New York City.*

There were about half a dozen of us sitting one evening round the kitchen table in a typical boarding-house—a truck driver, an electrician, and other West Indian immigrants, and a locally born colored girl. The electrician, while praising his trade union for its lack of discrimination, told us of times he had been turned away because of his color, times when he had been abused (this was in the south of England) because he had married a white girl.

Another member of the party told of trouble at a dance hall, partly due to the presence of white and colored American troops in the area, and referred to a horrifying story of how an American Negro soldier was said to have been killed at a dance hall near Swindon by his white comrades. The girl mentioned a time when, applying for a job, she had been told to leave the room during the occupant's temporay absence, "because I can't trust you niggers."

"Don't you use that word!" she snapped back in a Lancashire accent. "I'm Liverpool-born and I know my rights." She had made her protest, but she didn't get the job.

The position of the locally-born is rather more difficult than that of the others. Since few women emigrate from the colonies, the men who come must marry such Liverpool women as will have them, which often means women who, for various reasons, have put themselves beyond the pale in the opinion of the local white population. Although this was not so in the case of this girl's mother, the prevalence of such unions is bound to have an effect on the mental attitude of the whole second generation.

Another member of the small group voiced his opinion: he hadn't had so much trouble about getting employment, because of his high qualifications, but his trouble was finding somewhere to live. One landlady had screamed and slammed the door when he came to answer her advertisement; others said weakly, "I'm sorry, it's already taken," or flatly, "We don't take colored."

LACK SKILLS

White employers answer the charge of discrimination by declaring that colored labor is lazy, or that the other men would object, or that colored applicants do not possess the qualifications they claim. The first charge seems to be a common folk-myth with absolutely no foundation in fact. The second, on investigation, has proved usually to be unfounded, though there are white workers who resent working under a Negro superior. The third has some basis: one batch of West Indians who came over to work during the war did prove to lack the technical skills ascribed to them by the organization responsible. The properly qualified, however, feel strongly that employers should take the trouble at least to interview them, which many do not, before deciding they come into this category.

The attitude of landladies is harder to ascertain, but some have stated to colored students in effect: "I've nothing against you, but I have a daughter and if you and she get fond of each other, well—what about the children?"—thus keeping the increasing number of locally-born colored in the position which landladies natural-

ly do not wish their grandchildren to occupy.

In the face of all this frustrating opposition, whether resulting from misunderstanding, ignorance, unreasoning hostility, or from causes which could easily be put right, the colored people of Liverpool, once divided on national, tribal, or occupational issues, are beginning to get together to form associations for mutual protection and association, and to recognize a common identity.

This tendency holds one danger—that the colored population, more closely integrated within itself, will tend to become even more isolated from the life of the general population, and to regard the "Jonny Bulls" with even more suspicion and hostility. Efforts are being made to combat this trend, but they are not always happy ones.

I was present at the opening of a community center in Liverpool, intended to serve the colored people, but everyone present was conscious that its foundation would not have been necessary if the other community centers in the city had not banned Negroes, and no one could fail to notice the attitude of patronage on the part of many whites present, or the unnecessary number of police in the vicinity, carrying the implication that a congregation of Negroes meant forthcoming violence. The presence of the Lord Mayor with a gold chain round his neck somehow failed to convince.

The colored people of Liverpool are suspicious of white people, and most white people are either totally indifferent to or genuinely frightened of the Negroes. Nevertheless, many whites are well meaning, and could do a great deal—if they were capable of treating Negroes as perfectly ordinary people who happen to find themselves in a difficult circumstance, and not as problem children.

The whites may have prejudice, but the Negroes have pride, and that is something the English often forget. It may prove to be a tragic forgetfulness, because Liverpool is only an example in microcosm of a situation which is inescapable; in one form or another it exists all over the Commonwealth—and all over the world.

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William A. Scott

ZION SIGNS UP—*Rev. L. V. Booth of Cincinnati's (Ohio) Zion Baptist Church hands Cincinnati branch executive secretary Kenneth Banks (R) check for $100.00 on church's purchase of NAACP life membership. Zion members are strong NAACP supporters. In addition to enrolling members of the congregation, the church has purchased shades for the local NAACP office and given support in other important branch projects.*

Charles McLean, NAACP field secretary, North Carolina, presents NAACP life membership plaque to Mrs. Clara Nesby, Grand Worthy Counsellor of the Calanthe at their 42nd Grand Court.

Barbara Perry receives the oratorical trophy as winner in the New Jersey state conference oratorical contest. Miss Perry is a member of the Paterson branch.

Sylvester Reid of the Lorraine, Oklahoma, Veterans Club, takes out a life membership in the NAACP.

Leadership Workshop on Desegregation

IN the spring of 1958, George R. Ferguson, president of the Charlottesville, Virginia, NAACP branch; J. Russell Arnette, branch legal redress chairman; and Mrs. Louise Cooper, branch education committee chairman; met to consider possible programs looking towards public school desegregation in Charlottesville. Subsequently, a cross section of interested citizens in the local community was invited to

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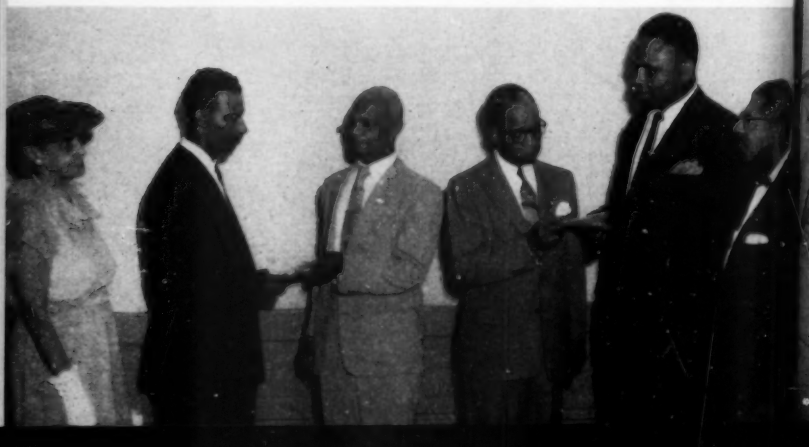
ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE OF FREEMASONRY *present checks totaling $719.50 to the New Orleans, Louisiana, branch of the NAACP and the Urban League of Greater New Orleans. Henry Petty (2nd from L) makes presentation to Charles Garrett of the NAACP. Harvey Kerns presents check to Urban League's Andrew Merrett (2nd from R).*

Perrault's Studio



join with the education committee of the Charlottesville branch to plan a week-long workshop for students on public school desegregation, with the theme "Building for the Future—Desegregation." This workshop was held June 23-27, with a recommendation that a second workshop be held for additional parents and adults. The second one was held August 19-20.

Irene Osborne orientated workshop consultants in a pre-workshop conference, in which she made the following observations:

That the Negro child grows up with a feeling of rejection; that having lived in a segregated society the child may be perplexed when given the opportunity to choose between a segregated and a non-segregated community; and that a segregated

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AT THE NAACP's *49th annual convention in Cleveland, Ohio, July 8-13, Bishop Madison Reid presents check for $1,000 as initial payment by his denomination on an NAACP life membership for the "Little Rock Nine." From L, Dr. Paul T. Robinson, president Richmond, California, branch; Bishop Reid, second episcopal district AME church; Alfred Baker Lewis, NAACP treasurer; Bishop Joseph Gomez, fourth episcopal district AME church; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. Dr. Robinson contributed $500.00 for a life membership for Mrs. Bates.*

Sinclair Studio

JERSEY CITY, *New Jersey, high-school graduates receive awards for their untiring efforts to build a better youth program in the New Jersey community.*

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society always imposes arbitrary limitations. Adjusting to a non-segregated society is difficult because people are frightened by change, are prone to say negative things, and find it difficult to act in a crisis.

The workshop for grades 4-6 illustrates the nature of one of these workshops. Children learned about other lands, races and nationalities. They talked and thought about the Martin Luther King story and the Montgomery approach of non-violence in ending bus segregation. Looking forward to non-segregated schools in Charlottesville, the discussion was centered around the gospel of love and brotherhood. Creativeness, firmness, and calmness were emphasized as important aspects of personal conduct in a newly created integrated environment.

The adult group recommended that workshops be extended to additional parents and adults; that local organized secular and religious groups be asked to cooperate; that the branch educational committee furnish fact sheets and discussion guides; and that a speakers' bureau be set up to furnish speakers for interested groups.

SECOND WORKSHOP

The second workshop was adult. First meeting was opened with dis-

cussion of community experiences in desegregation. "Youth Faces Desegregation," a film made by the New York *Times* Student Forum in Louisville, Kentucky, was first shown. Then June Shagaloff of the NAACP cited numerous situations, both voluntary and involuntary, in which desegregation had taken place without difficulty. She cited instances from West Virginia, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Texas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, and other states. Many of these communities also integrated their teaching staffs.

Some of the topics discussed at the second workshop, August 18-20, are summarized below.

Standard Photo Service

DISTINCTION *of being the newest NAACP life member belongs to the Universal Insurance Agency of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Jerome M. Boris (R), Universal president, presents $500.00 membership check to Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia branch president. C. W. Maxwell, Mr. Boris's longtime friend, looks on.*

Cecil Layne

JOHN A. MORSELL, *assistant to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, receives his NAACP life membership plaque and is congratulated by Bobbie Branche, NAACP office manager, a fully-paid NAACP life member herself. Life memberships in the Association cost $500.00.*

Dr. R. W. Garnett, Jr., professor of neurology and psychiatry at the University of Virginia, discussed "The Psychological Effects of Segregation on Individuals." He reported the significant finding that the psychological effects of racial segregation are as great, or greater, on white persons than on Negroes. Among the harmful effects on majority groups members are the basic feelings of quiet which give rise to fear, contempt, hatred, rationalization and hostility; maintenance of unrealistic feelings of superiority; projection of feelings of hostility and aggression against whole groups of people; confusion, conflict, and disrespect for authority as the result of the conflict observed between the moral, reli-

THE WILLIAM PENN POST #129 *of the American Legion holds the distinction of being the first organization in Alexandria, Virginia, to take out a $500.00 NAACP life membership. From L, Daniel Freeman, post commander, presents the payment to Rufus Dancy (R), branch treasurer, while Nelson Greene, past post commander, looks on.*

---

gious and democratic principles of justice and fair play and the acts of prejudice and discrimination.

Among the detrimental effects of segregation on minority group members are feelings of inferiority; conflict about personal worth and respect, sometimes leading to self-hatred and rejection of one's own group; a generally defeatist attitude and a lowering of personal ambition reflected in a lowering of pupil morale and educational aspirations; and disillusionment with respect to religion, law and democracy.

Dr. Garnett concluded by stating that Negroes and whites and society as a whole are deprived by racial segregation and its consequences of the full contribution each could make to the other and to society.

Dr. Edward McCreary, professor

of religion at Virginia Union University, discussed "The Christian Aspects of Desegregation." He stated that there can be found nowhere in the Bible or in God's teachings a basis for segregation. Along with our court's action, people's hearts must learn Christian living. We ask for one standard for all individuals and we must meet that standard. Christianity is a faith. God has never "let down" people who use good common sense and good knowledge in their ventures of right.

Dr. John Marion, former secretary of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, discussed "The Responsibilities and Benefits of Desegregation." He told the workshop that morally and spiritually racial segregation, which imposes a needless stigma on countless people, and becomes a barrier to self-respect and achievement, must end. In addition, segregation must end because of the tremendous human cost, uncountable wasted human talent and resources, and the financial cost.

OPEN HOUSE FOR FREEDOM—*Provocative name for a social gathering held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cornor White, under sponsorship of the Muskegon, Michigan, branch, to raise funds for the branch's $200.00 pledge to the NAACP fighting fund for freedom. From L (seated), Carolyn Bryant, Mrs. Henry Kelly, Aquilla Young, Mrs. Frank Howell, (standing) Mrs. Edward Brown, and Mrs. Cornor White.*

Responsibilities that come with desegregation include making yourself as fine a person as your talents and enlarged opportunities will permit, taking full advantage of opportunities for community participation as they come about in desegregated situations, taking advantage of desegregated schools, participating in interracial organizations, voting, keeping bitterness, cynicism and hatred out of your heart, maintaining faith in America.

Mrs. Edith Hussey of Alexandria gave the voice of the NAACP State Education Committee. She congratulated the workshop on the morale building job being done in Charlottesville by such things as the leadership workshops and expressed admiration for the children, and parents of the children, who are seeking their constitutional rights in America. Integration, she said, is working despite the so-called massive resistance program. She cited cases in her own community where integration is actually being practiced: Girl Scout troops, vacation Bible schools, the PTA, the Ministers Association, the League of Women Voters, and the Human Relations Council. Desegregation will come about but we must work beyond that to accomplish integration—all people working together.

T. J. Sellers, newspaperman, a native of Charlottesville, said it is time to awake out of the sleep of indifference if we are to build for the future. We must accept the challenge that is before us if we honestly intend to build a future better than the past. History serves us only if we profit by the past. We must summon the moral courage because we know we are right. Nothing will justify a retreat. This is not an isolated struggle. Many people in other countries and states are fighting for rights that belong to them. We are not fighting alone. We must have a determined spirit to act and work together.

All in all the workshop was a success. It reached a sizeable portion of the Charlottesville community. The workshop broaded the outlook of all participants and deepened their understanding of the complex problems involved in desegregation. Workshops of this kind will help speed the desegregation of southern public schools.

SOME *of the sixty-three persons who are serving on the general committee of the Columbus, Ohio, branch NAACP freedom fund effort.*

"WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED..."

your NA L
will has th
of civil ti

Four years have elapsed since the Supreme Court estab To c
lished school integration as the law of the land. Since th acist
time, however, integration has proceeded at a snail's pac nust
Despite the Court's decision, segregation continues in t -to
Deep South, and in the border states only token integ he d
tion has been achieved.

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Notice of Nominations to the Board of Directors of the NAACP

These persons have been nominated by the Nominating Committee for the three-year term ending December 31, 1961:

KELLY M. ALEXANDER

Charlotte, N. C. President North Carolina State conference of Branches and charter member. Life member NAACP. Member National Board of Directors since 1950. Organized Charlotte, N. C. Branch.

BETTY LOU BURLEIGH

Pittsburgh, Pa. President University of Pittsburgh College Chapter.

DR. W. MONTAGUE COBB

Washington, D.C. Professor of Anatomy, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Chairman Council of Medical Education and Hospitals. Chairman NAACP National Health Committee. Member of Board of Directors since 1950.

DR. NATHAN K. CHRISTOPHER

Cleveland, Ohio. President of Cleveland Branch for 5 years. Ardent worker in local branch. Life member of Association. Member of Board since 1947.

MRS. DORETHA A. COMBRE

Lake Charles, La. President Louisiana State Conference of Branches. Longtime NAACP worker. Prominent business woman.

EARL B. DICKERSON

Chicago, Ill. President and General Manager of Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, Chicago, Ill. Member original FEPC. Member National Board since 1941. Life member.

DR. GEORGE D. FLEMMINGS

Fort Worth, Texas. President of Fort Worth—Tarrant County Branch for more than 17 years. Life member of NAACP. Grand Vice Chancellor of Knights of Pythias of Texas. Member Board of Directors since 1947.

DR. BUELL GALLAGHER

New York, N. Y. President, College of City of New York. Former President Talladega College. Member of National Board since 1943-1948; 1953 until present.

DR. HARRY J. GREENE

Philadelphia, Pa. Serving 13th year as president of Philadelphia Branch. Past president of the Pennsylvania

State Conference. Former Chairman Region II. Life Member of the Association. Member National Board since 1950.

MRS. LILLIE M. JACKSON

Baltimore, Md. President Baltimore, Md., Branch and President Maryland State Conference. Member of Board since 1948. Life Member.

JUDGE CARL R. JOHNSON

Kansas City, Mo. Judge of the Municipal Court of Kansas City, Mo. President Kansas City Branch; attorney who has assisted National Legal Staff on cases. Member of Board since 1950. Life Member.

W. W. LAW

Savannah, Ga. President of Georgia State Conference of Branches and President of Savannah, Georgia, Branch. Member of Board since 1950.

WILLIAM R. MING, ESQ.

Chicago, Ill. Attorney. Member of Board. Long-time member National Legal Committee.

JUDGE THEODORE SPAULDING

Philadelphia, Pa. Judge of Municipal Court, Philadelphia. Former President Philadelphia Branch. Member of Board since 1944.

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER

New York, N. Y. New York State Rent Administrator. Member of Board since 1951, Vice-Chairman of Board. Former Chairman National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

SAMUEL A. WILLIAMS

East Orange, N. J. Formerly president of the Branches of the Oranges and Maplewood. At present President of the New Jersey State Conference. Member of Board 1951-53; 1956 to present.

The new nominee for the Board on this list is:

Mrs. Doretha A. Combre, Lake Charles, Louisiana

Article II of the Constitution* provides as follows:

"3 (b) Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty (30) members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Executive Secretary *not later than November 1* of each year. The Executive Secretary shall send to each branch of the Association, not later than November 15 of each year, a ballot containing the nominations of the Nominating Committee, plus the nominations by independent petition. Each branch at its annual meeting shall by vote of the members present, make its choices for the members of the Board of Directors. The said choices shall be marked upon the ballot submitted by the Executive Secretary and the said ballot shall be signed by the president and secretary of the branch and must be returned to the national office not later than December 31 of each year. The said ballots shall be held by the Executive Secretary in a safe place until the annual meeting.

"(c) At each annual meeting the said ballots shall be opened by a committee selected at said annual meeting and counted on the following basis:

	Members			Votes
Branches of from	50	to	100**	2
	100	to	500	3
	500	to	1,000	4
	1,000	to	2,500	5
	2,500	to	5,000	6
	5,000	to	10,000	8
	10,000	to	20,000	9
Over	20,000			10

"Any ballot or ballots containing the name or names of any persons for election to the said board not nominated in accordance with the Constitution shall be void."

*All references to constitution are to NAACP Constitution or Blue Book.
**"On May 13, 1957 the Board of Directors voted to interpret this table so as to make each numerical class inclusive at its upper limit: e.g., a branch of 100 members has (2) votes (or voting delegates); a branch of 500 members has (3) votes (or voting delegates); and so on."

COMMITTEE *of the Columbus, Ohio, branch which prepared the November 2 style show, called Fashions for Freedom, featuring Mrs. Margurite Belafonte. They are (from L) Mrs. Marie Kent, Mrs. Marie Neal, Ruth Martin, Mrs. Eva Manuel, Mrs. Lydia, and Mrs. Betty Brewer.*

Cecil Layne

NAACP EXECUTIVE ROY WILKINS *thanks Dr. H. Claude Hudson (R) of Los Angeles, California, for checks totaling $4,000.00 in payments on life memberships in the NAACP purchased by citizens of the Los Angeles area. Presentation was made in the offices of the Association's headquarters in New York City on September 15, when Dr. Hudson, an NAACP board member, was attending a meeting of the board nominating committee.*

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Editorials

"SECEDING FROM CIVILIZATION"

ONE Southern editor has called the recent public school closings by the "sovereign states" of Arkansas and Virginia as "seceding from civilization." The performance of these two states is an indication of the lengths to which the die-hard segregationists and Southern demagogues are willing to go to prevent public school integration. Their theme song is "We'd rather have our kids stay home than go to school with those. . . ." The issue of integration and obeying the Supreme Court's ruling has now been lost in a maze of nonsense about states' rights, slurs upon the Supreme Court justices, silly attacks upon the NAACP, and nauseous talk about interracial marriage and miscegenation.

It is stupid public policy when the Governor of Virginia closes Charlottesville's school rather than admit thirty Negro pupils; or, as in Norfolk, to barr 1,700 white students from classes to halt the integration of twelve Negroes. Or as in Little Rock to deny education to 3,000 white students to block admission of a handful of Negroes.

NEITHER Arkansas nor Virginia can operate a private system of education. They haven't the money nor the teachers. If there are to be no public schools, what happens to school taxes? Shall the state continue to collect them? How is the state going to raise the equivalent of school taxes from private citizens? How is the state going to recruit qualified teachers? What about accreditation of private schools, assuming that a few will operate? What about the problems of college entrance for the college-bound students from the now closed high schools? These are just a few of the problems which the segregationists must solve. The money cost alone is high. Norfolk, Virginia, for example, received $1,245,652, or 11 per cent of its income from the Federal Government. And Arlington County received $1,125,840 or 13 per cent of the county's total income from Uncle Sam. The prospect is that Arkansas and Virginia will have integrated schools or none at all.

NOW is the time for the Southern moderates to take charge. The crackpots, the racists, the White Citizens' Councils, and the cheap politicians have had their say. They do not want public school integration—now or in the foreseeable future. They rant *ad nauseam* about "devastating blows at race relations in the South," "refusal of the Supreme Court to recognize the Constitution," "insults to the South," and so on. But apparently they do not even speak for the white students involved. Where they have been sounded out, white students have voiced little opposition to integrated

schools. Some have said they don't like it, but even these students have expressed a willingness to attend desegregated schools. Jessie Evans of the Van Buren, Arkansas, high school told her elders that "Negroes have a right to attend school just as much as anybody." She said a poll of 160 students in her school showed only 45 against integration.

In every community where integration has provoked violence, the opposition was sparked by a handful of rabble-rousers and racial fanatics, with an assist from hooligans from outside the local community. And where the power and prestige of the local government have been pitted against these trouble makers integration has proceeded in an orderly manner after the first flare up. White Southerners must stop thinking of themselves as a breed apart. They must rejoin the nation. Neither the American people nor constituted authority can yield an inch of principle to racial prejudice.

SOUTHERN BOMBINGS

THE utter abandonment of rationality on public school integration by many prominent Southerners, their open repudiation and defiance of the law, and the shocking stream of filth and vituperation which their die-hard racist followers have loosed on the Negro—and sometimes Jews—are directly responsible for the recent rash of bombings in the South. Now the chickens have come home to roost. The bombing of the Jewish Temple in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 12 and the Clinton, Tennessee, high school on October 5 are only the most recent in a series of such outrages.

May we cite a few: the bombing of the home of a Negro family in North Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the blasting of a Negro elementary school in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on January 19; the bombing of a Jewish center and a Negro school in Jacksonville, Florida, on April 28; the bombing of the Jewish Community Center in Nashville, Tennessee, and Temple Beth El in Miami, Florida, on March 16; and the attempt of three Klansmen to bomb a Negro school near Charlotte, North Carolina, on February 15. The issue for America is law enforcement, relentless persecution of the hate bombers, and less American hypocrisy where her Negro citizens are concerned.

"RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS

THE so-called "right-to-work" laws are a phony. They have nothing at all to do with the right-to-work. They are really "union-busting" schemes backed by reactionary industrialists who are using the findings of the McClellan committee hearings to smear all organized labor. The only protection a worker has against organized industry and organized business is through his union. The "right-to-work" slogan means that the workers have a right to work—but only under conditions established unilaterally by their employers.

Looking and Listening . . .

SEGREGATION SCORED

THREE of the resolutions adopted by the Catholic Family Life Convention in Buffalo, New York, last July have a direct bearing on better race relations in the United States. One resolution voiced "categoric and unequivocal opposition to segregated housing," and another called upon the executive branch of the federal government to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation "with positive action where necessary."

The text of the three 1958 convention resolutions on race relations is as follows:

WHEREAS, school segregation tends to introduce prejudicial judgments and attitudes into the family; and

WHEREAS, this issue has become critical in our own land and for the prestige of the free World in international relations;

BE IT RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our acceptance of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, and our endorsement of the views of spiritual leaders on the subject; and that we call upon the executive branch of the Federal government to implement the decision of the Judiciary with positive action where necessary.

WHEREAS, segregation in housing is a very serious obstacle to the proper development of family life among segregated groups, and can constitute an impediment to the proper civic and religious spirit in groups which segregate;

BE IT RESOLVED: that we express our categoric and unequivocal opposition to segregated housing; and that we recommend to Catholics and to Catholic Family Life organizations that they co-operate and affiliate with local, state and national organizations which aim at putting an end to segregation in housing; and that we urge state legislatures to enact laws forbidding segregation in all housing projects which receive government financial assistance of any type.

WHEREAS, the Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans constitute important minority groups on the American scene; and

WHEREAS, family problems existing within such minority groups are aggravated by discrimination and other social injustices;

BE IT RESOLVED: that the Catholic Family Life Movement take deliberate steps to concern itself more directly with these groups and their needs at both the local and national levels.

LITTLE ROCK

FURTHER proof that Little Rock, Arkansas, has become a world-wide symbol of American racial intolerance is offered by Veronica T. Sisson writing in the August, 1958, issue of *Interracial Review*, "Little Rock Seen from Afar." Miss Sisson writes:

I have just arrived from what I thought in the beginning would be a

pleasure trip to the countries of Southeast Asia.

Aside from the usual tourist sights like Angkor Wat and Mount Fuji, I was prepared to see the refugee hovels in Hong Kong, the undernourished Thai children—their playgrounds stretching along the banks of Bangkok's muddy canals—and the sore-infested beggars of Madras exposed to India's blazing mid-day sun. But I was quite unprepared to witness the reaction of the people of Free Asia—statesmen, teachers, pedicab drivers and other ordinary people—towards America's race problem. Incidents like those at Little Rock are magnified a hundredfold in the Asian press and are met at first with incredulity and then with disappointment.

In a region where people are just casting off the retarding influence of caste and stratified social position, as most Asian societies are, the United States has long been a model of how men of diverse faiths and races can build a nation founded on the dignity of the individual, on justice, and on democracy. Any besmirching of that ideal, however slight, has a disillusioning effect.

'Why do you come thousands of miles to teach us democracy?' students in Manila ask of their embarrassed Fulbright exchange professor. 'Could you not be of better use in Little Rock?'

'How can this attitude toward race exist in a civilized country?' the bazaar owners of Hyderabad politely inquire. . . .

MUST SERVE NEGROES

THE Washington State Board Against Discrimination has secured a cease and desist order against the owners of the Alibi Tavern in Tacoma by a tribunal which heard charges of racial discrimination in a public hearing held in Tacoma in August. This was the first public hearing ever held by the Washington State Board Against Discrimination since it was established by law in 1949 and the first State Civil Rights cease and desist order issued West of the Mississippi.

Two Negroes, Harold G. Moss and Richard K. Fox, both of Tacoma, had charged the owners of the Alibi Tavern with refusal to serve them because of their race. After hearing six hours of testimony the Tribunal, consisting of Melville Oseran, Seattle attorney; Mrs. William Goering, Tacoma councilwoman; and the Rev. Robert S. Hoagland, Tacoma minister; handed down an opinion that the plaintiffs had indeed been denied service because of their race.

The tavern owners were ordered to cease and desist from discriminating against persons on the basis of color and to serve all orderly persons desiring service without distinction, restriction or discrimination, regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin. The order further required the tavern owners to post in a conspicuous place in their tavern a placard stating that the tavern is a place of public accommodation under the laws of the State of Washington and that no one will be denied service because of race, creed, color or national origin.

For a period of six months the tavern owners must file a monthly report with the Washington State Board Against Discrimination listing any Negroes who are refused service together with the name of the bartender refusing such service, the date

UPI Photo

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., *poses with his mother (L) and his wife at Harlem Hospital in New York City on September 30 during his first news conference since being stabbed by Mrs. Izola Curry on September 20. Dr. King said he had felt no ill will towards Mrs. Curry.*

and time of such refusal and the reason for such refusal.

The tavern owners were ordered to pay approximately $100.00 of the hearing cost.

The Tribunal further recommended to the Washington State Board Against Discrimination that the Washington State Liquor Control Board should be advised of the decision of the Tribunal and that the Liquor Control Board should be furnished a copy of the cease and desist order for its information and guidance.

The case for the State of Washington was presented by Wing Luke and Elihu Hurwitz, Assistant Attorneys General. The case for the complainants was further represented by their attorney, Jack Tanner of Tacoma. The defendants were represented by their attorney, J. S. Witt of Tacoma.

SOUTHERN NEGRO SCHOOLS

WHAT are Negro schools in the South like?

James Baldwin, the distinguished Negro writer, went South to find out. He visited with the family of a high school boy who had just entered an integrated school.

Writing in the October issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Baldwin tells of an interview with the boy, whom he identifies only as "G." and with his mother, whom he calls "Mrs. R."

Baldwin said the youth told him he hadn't been learning anything in the Negro school, and the author asked him to explain.

"Well, the teacher comes in," he said, "and she gives you something to read and she goes out. She leaves some other student in charge. . . ." ("You can just imagine how much reading gets done," Mrs. R. interposed.) "At the end of the period," G. continued, "She comes back and tells you something to read for the next day."

Baldwin continues: "So, having nothing else to do, G. began amusing his classmates and his mother began to be afraid. G. is just about at the age when boys begin dropping out of school. Perhaps they get a girl into trouble; she also drops out; the boy gets work for a time or gets into trouble for a long time. I was told that forty-five girls had left school for the maternity ward the year before. A week or ten days before I arrived in the city eighteen boys from G.'s former high school had been sentenced to the chain gang.

" 'My boy's a good boy,' said Mrs. R., 'and I wanted to see him have a chance.' "

" 'Don't the teachers care about the students?' I asked. This brought forth more laughter. How could they care? how much could they do if they did care? There were too many children from shaky homes and worn-out parents, in aging, inadequate plants. They could be considered, most of them, as already doomed. Besides, the teachers' jobs were safe. They were responsible only to the Principal, an appointed official, whose judgment, apparently, was never questioned by his (white) superiors or confreres.

"The Principal of G.'s former high school was about seventy-five when he was finally retired and his idea of discipline was to have two boys beat each other—'under his supervision'—with leather belts. This once happened with G., with no other results than that his parents gave the Principal a tongue-lashing. It happened with two boys of G.'s acquaintance with result that, after school, one boy beat the other so badly that he had to be sent to the hospital. The teachers have themselves arrived at a dead end, for in a segregated school system they cannot rise any higher, and the students are aware of this. Both students and teachers soon cease to struggle.

" 'If a boy can wash a blackboard,' a teacher was heard to say, 'I'll promote him.' "

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

DYNAMITE CONTROL LEGISLATION

THE Association is renewing efforts to secure congressional enactment of a law "extending federal control over the possession, transportation and use of dangerous explosives." The decision to renew the drive for passage of such a law (a bill introduced in the 85th Congress failed of enactment) is embodied in a resolution passed by the NAACP Board at its regular monthly meeting, held in New York City, on October 14. The resolution "deplores and strongly condemns the bombing of Jewish temples in Atlanta and Peoria."

Further the resolution declares: "The desecration of these houses of worship is the ugly and inevitable fruit of the seeds of racial and religious hatred being sown by demagogic politicians and irresponsible journalists whose calls for defiance of the law of the land have helped create a social and political climate in which criminal elements feel free to translate the politicians' baneful pronouncements into acts of violence.

"Under cover of night, these hoodlums have bombed not only Jewish temples, synagogues and centers, but also Christian churches, Negro homes and public schools. They have instigated a reign of terror which has gone unchecked for more than two years.

"In this crisis, the federal government bears a major responsibility which, until the Atlanta bombing, it seemed reluctant to accept. The NAACP commends President Eisenhower on his prompt action in ordering the FBI into the Atlanta case in recognition of this federal responsibility. The NAACP has consistently contended that the national government has an obligation to curb these outbreaks of bigotry whether directed at Negroes or white persons. Affirmative action by the executive branch of government in the earlier cases may have averted the more recent bombings."

NEGROES PAID TO ATTEND WHITE CHURCHES

ATTEMPTS by groups of Negroes to attend services at white churches in Little Rock, Arkansas, would appear to be "a maneuver of the segregationist forces and may well have been stimulated by some state officials" according to an investigation by the NAACP.

The statement, adopted by the NAACP board of directors at its regular monthly meeting on October 14, reaffirms the Association's conviction that "the Churches of Christ should be voluntarily desegregated everywhere." However, it points out, "an investigation by the NAACP seems to indicate that worship in Christian fellowship was not the real objective" of those colored persons seeking to attend churches "whose ministers have been moderates on the school integration question."

The investigation revealed that certain of these "alleged worshippers" had been paid to attend the white churches and had been transported to the churches by white men as part of "an organized effort to embarrass the ministers and arouse not only the congregations immediately concerned, but other white church-goers as well."

One of the men playing an active role in these scheme, the NAACP statement asserts, "is the proprietor of a nursing home which receives patronage from the State of Arkansas. It was also learned that few if any of the members of the delegation are members of any church, or in the habit of attending any house of worship."

The statement further notes that "no Negro citizens of standing and responsibility in the Little Rock community are identified with this disruptive plot."

In furtherance of this plot, the segregationists are reported planning to send Negroes to a farewell reception in honor of the Rev. Dunbar Ogden who, because of his opposition to school segregation, has been forced to give up his pastorate of a Presbyterian church in Little Rock.

SENATOR BRICKER CRITICIZED

THE Ohio State Conference of NAACP branches, through the chairman of its resolutions committee, has politely refused "to modify or set aside" a resolution condemning Senator John W. Bricker for advocating and supporting legislation designed to curb the United States Supreme Court.

The Ohio senator had written to Barbee William Durham, executive secretary of the Columbus NAACP branch and chairman of the committee which drafted the resolution, disavowing any attack upon the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings and urging withdrawal of the resolution adopted at a state-wide NAACP conference in Toledo on September 20.

In his letter to Mr. Durham, Senator Bricker enclosed the full text of an address he had delivered in Cleveland on September 17. "You will note," he said, "that I did not refer to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in the school segregation case. I have never cited that case as an example of judicial legislation because I think it is clearly distinguishable from those cases in which the Supreme Court has overreached its constitutional authority. You will also note that I made it clear that an independent judiciary must be preserved and that I would not be a party to any punitive action against the Supreme Court."

In response to the Senator's letter, Mr. Durham conceded that the Ohio Republican did not cite the anti-segregation ruling as an example of judicial legislation. However, he told Senator Bricker, "You did charge that the Supreme Court has assumed what are primarily legislative powers because of the manner it has handled cases arising under the Fourteenth Amendment. This is exactly what southern senators and other segregationists are saying and since you did not, in your speech, make an exception of the 1954 school case, there was no way for our committee to see any difference between what you said and what the segregationists are saying. And this is not to say that the NAACP would limit its scorn about attacks upon the Supreme Court to this particular type of case.

"It is heartening to know that what you said in your speech is not your actual position on this matter," the NAACP spokesman continued. "However, our resolutions committee acted on the information we had at hand and, therefore, I cannot in good conscience, bring myself to the point of suggesting to the president of the Ohio conference that any action be taken to modify or set aside the action of the convention. My reason for taking this position is that the information contained in the copy of your speech does not alter the newspaper account which the resolutions committee had at hand at the time the resolution, about which you are concerned, was written."

POPE PIUS XII

POPE PIUS XII "abhorred racism and rebuked the advocates of racial discrimination and segregation in any country," said Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, in a statement mourning the passing of the Pope. Here is the full text of Dr. Tobias' statement:

"When I was a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations in 1951, my wife and I went to Rome for the Chrsitmas holidays. We were received by Pope Pius XII in a private hearing. We found him most gracious and pleasing in manner, recognizing that we were Protestants, thus showing his breadth of spirit. Our conference was facilitated by his easy command of the English language. His understanding of our racial problem in this country was remarkable. He was sympathetic with our struggle for equality of citizenship. His public utterances indicated that he recognized no color line in humanity. He abhorred racism and rebuked the advocates of racial discrimination and segregation in any country. Non-Catholics, as well as Catholics have sustained a grievous loss and join in mourning his passing. We pray that his successor may be possessed of similar qualities."

What the Branches Are Doing

California: West coast region field secretary Tarea Pittman left the USA in September for a tour of Alaska branches. While in Anchorage Mrs. Pittman gave the keynote address at the NAACP Civil Rights and Labor Conference, was the main speaker at an NAACP banquet and meeting, and she also addressed the local chamber of commerce.

West coast regional director Franklin H. Williams addressed the student body of Mexico City college in August on the topic, "Changing Status of the Negro in America."

Illinois: Three neighborhood units of the local NAACP were disssolved by the Chicago board of directors in September, Hyde Park, and the North and West Sides.

The education committe of the Illinois conferences of branches held the second in a series of workshop conferences on October 5 on the extent and the effect of segregation and discrimination in the public schools of Illinois.

Mrs. Cora M. Patton, former president of the Chicago branch, died in August in the Illinois Research Hospital. At the time of her death she was vice-president and honorary chairman of the branch's membership committee.

Mrs. Patton in early childhood came to Chicago from Nebraska. In 1925 one of the officers of the group that later became the Gaudeamus Women's Club interested her in club work. During the depression days of the early 1930s she took a number of children into her home and brought them up. In this way she became interested in the Parent Teachers Association. She was the first Negro woman to serve as auditor of the PTA High School Council and the first of her race to serve as chairman of the PTA By-Laws Committee. She was one of the organizers of the Mosely School PTA.

For six years she was president of the Gaudeamus Women's Club. Through Daisy Lampkin, president-at-large of the National Association of Colored Women, with which the Gaudeamus Club was affiliated, she became active in the NAACP and was president of its Women's Auxiliary.

While president of the Women's Auxiliary, she launched the first NAACP Tag Day with "Crusade for Liberty" buttons. She received the support of the late alderman Jackson who secured the cooperation of the

SAMUEL F. COPPAGE, JR., *10-year-old son of Dr. S. F. Coppage, Sr., of Norfolk, Virginia, gives the contents of his piggy-bank, $100.00, to Robert D. Robertson, president of the Norfolk, Virginia, branch for a junior life membership in the NAACP. Master Coppage said: "This little piggy didn't go to market—he went to the NAACP."*

members of the City Council and official permission to tag. Alternative plans were prepared to tag in the churches if such permission had not been granted.

Mrs. Patton was one of the originators of the NAACP Tea which has become an annual event in support of the program and activities of the NAACP in Chicago.

She served as secretary of the Chicago branch of the NAACP for six years under presidents Charles Murray, Ira W. Williams and Oscar Brown, Sr. For three years she was chairman of the association's education committee, for one year advisor to the NAACP youth council and for two years chairman of the housing committee. She was elected to serve in 1954 and

1955 for two consecutive terms as president, the first and only woman to hold that position in the history of the Chicago NAACP. After retiring as president she continued to serve the NAACP as a vice-president and chairman of its membership committee. Due to her illness she relinquished the post of chairman of the membership committee but was designated as honorary chairman of that body.

Michigan: Mr. and Mrs. Corner White of Muskegon Heights opened their home in August to members and friends of the MUSKEGON branch in its drive to raise the branch quota of $200 for the fighting fund for freedom. The branch forwarded a check for $187.78 to the national office as a result of its drive. Of the total, $50 came from the Minister's Union and $137.78 from an "open House for Freedom" meeting.

Police-community relations, as a result of a branch report last May on police brutality, are going to be exploited by a thirteen-member citizen's advisory committee.

Newest and largest youth or college chapter in the State of Michigan is the one organized last April 10 at MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, Lansing. Chapter officers are Howard McCurdy, president; Chuck Davis, vice-president; Melinda Britton, recording secretary; Lois Rivers, treasurer. Executive board members are Jerry McForland, Grace Tipper, and Cal Davenport.

Maryland: The BALTIMORE branch registered 101,771 Negro citizens to vote in the November elections. The goal set by the branch a year ago was 100,000.

Minnesota: Rev. Edward J. Odom, NAACP church secretary, was guest speaker at the September 26 held for local clergymen in St. Paul. He started the "kick-off" drive of the ST. PAUL branch on September 28.

The Minnesota state conference of branches met on November 1 with Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, and Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, among the speakers.

Senator Edward Thye (R., Minnesota) had Joyce Hughe's prize-winning essay on the NAACP inserted in the August 7 edition of the *Congressional Record.* Miss Hughes, a native of Minneapolis, described the founding, history, and operation of the NAACP.

New York: Dr. George D. Cannon of New York City was guest speaker on October 12 at the musical tea of the ASTORIA-LONG ISLAND CITY branch. The tea was arranged by a committee consisting of Iris Pettiford Cox, chairman, Roscoe Copes, Margaret Cromartie, Emma Fowler, Helen Hasselriis, Mollie Hodes, Joan Lockwood, Mattie Ogletree, Gideon Rosenbluth, Evangeline Smith, and Virginia Whitmore.

Dr. and Mrs. Eugene T. Reed raised money for the branch's NAACP life membership drive by giving a soirée in their home at Islip on September 13. Dr. George D. Cannon was guest of honor.

THE BISHOP'S BIBLE CLASS *of the St. John's AME Church became the first Bible class in Cleveland, Ohio, to take out an NAACP life membership. William Clark, class president, said he hoped other church clubs and classes would follow this example. Pictured here (from L) are William Clark, Bible class president; Icabod Flewellen, NAACP worker and life subscriber; and Dr. James E. Levy, Cleveland branch president and also an NAACP life subscriber.*

Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York City, was featured speaker at the fighting fund for freedom of the JAMAICA branch on November 17 in the branch's drive to raise its FFF quota of $2,000.

The Hamptonians, an alumni club of Hampton Institute, presented the branch with $25.00 as aid toward its work.

The UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER chapter of the NAACP began a campaign in September to persuade the University of Rochester chapter of Sigma Chi and the university to remove the discriminatory "Causasian only" clause from Sigma Chi's by-laws.

MR. AND MRS. STANFORD McCLEASE *of Norfolk, Virginia, enrolled their three children in the NAACP at the age of four months. They were born on April 13, 1958. The father holds the boy, Bruce Eric; the mother, the two girls, Barbara Earline and Brenda Arline. The McCleases are parents of three other children who are members of the NAACP.*

Texas: NAACP field secretary Edwin C. Washington, Jr., was featured speaker at the August meeting of the CORPUS CHRISTI branch.

First and second place winners in the state-wide NAACP Queen Contest, which began March, 1958, and ended July 4, are Barbara Harris of Houston, awarded $400 plus a trip to Cleveland; and Mrs. Leola Brown of Waco, awarded $250. Other contestants also received awards. Over $4,000 was raised by contestants, Miss Harris raising $1,105.07 and Mrs. Brown $1,080.62. The contest, headed by Willie Melton and Mrs. U. V. Christian, was sponsored by the Texas state conference of NAACP branches.

Dr. E. A. Johnson, for several years president of the Nachitoches, Louisiana, branch and former president of the Louisiana Conference, died on September 6, 1958.

College and School News

The Center for African Studies of the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH is offering eight courses in African studies, with a faculty of seven.

■

Robert Hunter Campbell received his M. A. degree in French from the MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE language school on August 13. He also holds a B. A. degree from Tougaloo Southern Christian college and an M. A. from Atlanta university.

The NATIONAL SORORITY OF PHI DELTA KAPPA has announced winners of its twenty-first annual scholarship contest. They are Evelyn Patterson, Birmingham, Alabama, sponsored by Nu chapter; Illa B. Hayes, Washington, D. C., sponsored by Beta chapter; and Kathleen Shelley, Indianapolis, Indiana; sponsored by Tau chapter. These winners received $1,000 each and a scholarship certificate.

■

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright of HUNTER COLLEGE has been invited to attend the All-African People's Conference to be held in Ghana December 5-12.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY started a new course on American Indian arts, crafts and rituals on September 18.

Five Tuesday morning bird walks in Central Park, New York City, twelve excursions to nearby parks and sanctuaries for the study of local wildlife, and a behind-the-scene tour of the AMNH are being offered to all interested adults in this fall's pro-

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gram "Natural Science for the Layman."

A new course in astronomy, especially designed for teachers of children who are growing up in the space age, began on September 24 at the American Museum-Hayden Planetarium.

■

One full professor and two assistant professors are among eighteen appointees to the MORGAN STATE COLLEGE faculty.

Dr. Volodymr Bohun-Chudyniv, a naturalized American citizen born in the Ukraine, joins the faculty as professor of mathematics. Dr. Percy H. Baker and Howard K. Wilson have been appointed at the rank of assistant professor. Other appointments are Joseph Perches, Rev. Edward Carroll, Cleveland Chandler, Saul Lilienstein, Joe Padgett, and Charles Seitz.

■

Dr. William Lloyd Imes has been named visiting dean of DILLARD UNIVERSITY'S Lawless Memorial Chapel while Dr. Samuel Gandy, the university chaplain, is on leave for post-doctoral study at the University of Chicago under a special grant from the Danforth Foundation.

■

Dr. Daniel Thompson, professor of sociology and chairman of the division of social sciences, has been awarded a grant of $22,000 by the Ford Foundation for a study of the role of leaders in the changing pattern of Negro-white relations in New Orleans.

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FREE PARKING

The following faculty changes have been made at the FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE for 1958-59: Dr. H. I. Fontellio-Nanton to the newly created office of public relations, Charles Austin to automechanics, Thomas Bacote to music, Audry Colvon to social sciences, Melba Davis to library science, Mrs. Nannie Fletcher to college nurse, James McCoy to art, Mrs. Geraldine White to commercial education, and Edward McBroom to superintendent of buildings and grounds.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY opened its 92nd year on September 17 with the largest freshman class in its history, a new workshop among its community services, and a new course in the department of modern languages.

Six new faculty members have also been added: Leotis Belk, German and Spanish; Jean Blue, assistant librarian; Mrs. Sandra Mason, English; Eddie McGirt, physical education and football coach; Lindsey Wood, Jr., bookkeeper-cashier; and Hampton Wright, mathematics.

■

Ten new members have been appointed to the HAMPTON INSTITUTE faculty for the school year 1958-59: Lt. Col. James Carr, professor of military science and tactics; Norman Voelcker, assistant professor of music; Major Joseph Connor, assistant professor of military science and tactics; Dr. William Butts, part-time professor of business; Willia Daughtry, instructor in music; Saroop Kaul, instructor in mathematics; Mrs. Margaret Epps, instructor in nursing; Herbert James, instructor in mathematics; Mrs. Shirley Robinson, instructor in nursing; and Nadine Wallace, instructor in English.

Constance Cave, coordinator of student activities, has been appointed dean of women; Professor Rolf Dahl, teacher and administrator at the Scandinavian Seminars, Denmark, has been appointed visiting lecturer for the first semester; Miles M. Jackson, Jr., has been appointed acting librarian, and Barbara Moody and Fritz Malval to the library staff; and Yvonne Hayling and Aurelia Chaney have been appointed head residents with the rank of instructor. Responsibilities of the head residents in the women's dormitories include counseling and supervising of the undergraduate women as well as teaching courses in vocational orientation.

■

Dr. Walter G. Daniel, formerly professor of education at Howard and specialist for higher education in

the Office of Education, has been appointed head of the department of education at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY.

George Hansberry, formerly of Southern university and Fisk, replaces Dr. Louis Gist as assistant professor of chemistry. Dr. Gist joins the faculty of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State. Other faculty additions are George Morton, assistant professor of English and Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson as assistant professor in commerce.

The autumn-semester issue of the *Virginia Union Bulletin* is the "President's issue" with significant facts and illustrations about recent university activities.

■

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION, INC., began its program of training foreign students in vocational and technical trades when Anthony Ricks and Frederich Gibson arrived from Liberia in September.

■

Work is progressing at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE on four new dormitories which are expected to be completed during the school year. Three are for men and one for women.

■

TWO BENEDICT COLLEGE professors—Mrs. Everetta Rutherford and Arnold Taylor—on leave during 1957-58 for advanced study, have returned to the campus. Mrs. Rutherford, chairman of the division of education, spent a year at Harvard; Mr. Taylor, professor of history, spent a year and a summer at Catholic university, Washington, D. C.

Dr. T. B. Jones, former president of Harbison junior college, Irmo, S. C., has joined the Benedict faculty in the division of social studies.

■

The UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND operated a fund-raising institute and its annual meeting October 6-7 in New York City.

■

SPELMAN COLLEGE welcomed eight new faculty members at its first 1958-59 faculty meeting and six members of the Spelman family who were returning from advanced study.

■

Eighty-one graduates received degrees at the summer convocation of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY on August 7, with Attorney A. T. Walden giving the commencement address. Twenty-three students recived the master of

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DR. ALONZO G. MORON (L), *president of Hampton Institute, Virginia, a life member of the NAACP, endorses the NAACP membership drive on the Hampton campus, October 6-11. Beverly Wiley, chairman, and Lucy Thornton, president of the NAACP college chapter, are active in the drive.*

arts degree from the school of arts and sciences and nine the master of science.

■

Six new members joined the AU faculty this fall: Dr. Arthur C. Banks, Jr., visiting professor in political science; Dr. Akhilesh Dubey and Morgan Maxwell, assistant professors in the school of business administration; Mrs. Gwendolyn Drayne and Joseph Hall, diagnosticians in the reading clinic; and Leontine Carroll, assistant professor in the school of library service.

BISHOP COLLEGE opened its fall term with ten new faculty and staff members ,and six faculty members returning from leaves for advanced study.

■

Ghana ambassador Daniel Chapman, who is also his country's permanent representative to UN, made the keynote address at BOSTON UNIVERSITY'S homecoming on October 3.

Dr. William O. Brown, director of BU's African research and studies program, has been named vice-presi-

KATHLEEN SHELLEY, *Indianapolis, Indiana, national scholarship winner of Phi Delta Kappa.*

dent of the newly formed African Studies Association.

Dean Howard Thurman of BU's Marsh Chapel, was principal speaker at the Leominster Hospital School of Nursing commencement on September 28.

SHAW UNIVERSITY began its ninety-second formal opening on September 17 with seven new faculty and staff members.

■

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S youngest enrolled summer session student was George Miller of Mooresville, N. C., whose ambition is to serve his country as a diplomat.

Little George won $20,000, in the category "Nations of the World," on a television quiz show a few years ago.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE held its formal opening convocation on September 26, with Dr. George Gore, Jr., of Florida A&M as the principal speaker. President Daniel has announced twenty-six additions and replacements to the faculty and staff.

Four members of the faculty and staff will retire at the close of the summer session: John W. Harris, laundry foreman; Wilhelmina Hamlin, associate professor of education and head of the department of education; Amaza Meredith, associate professor of art and head of the department of fine arts; and James Thomas, associate professor of agriculture and head of the department of agricultural education.

BEATRICE HAYES, *Washington, D.C., winner of Phi Delta Kappa national scholarship.*

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Book Reviews

SANE WRITING

The Southern Heritage. **By James McBride Dabbs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. 272+IV pp. $4.00.**

The most respected of all Southern heroes, General Robert E. Lee, in the stillness of Appomattox after defeat, turned his face to the future and asked Southerners to do likewise. Conditions down there are evidence that few did, and not until South Carolina-born Mr. Dabbs came forth with *Southern Heritage* did it seem any would have the fortitude to feel that Lee was right and try to encourage others that this is so. If only Lee's advice had been followed much that has transpired—the bitterness and hatred, the racial conflict, regional economic poverty, the feeling of inferiority in comparison with the rest of the nation—would never have occurred. Mr. Dabbs has produced what is undoubtedly the sanest bit of writing on the race question in the South ever to be published in popular form. Extremely well written, it has not overlooked a single major point in its calm, forthright searching, in its insightful grasp of the contemporary situation, in going inside the emotional complexes of the people, and in projecting the inevitability of decent democracy coming to Dixie, come what may.

Just listen to the titles of some of the chapters: Southern Heritage; A Pause for Reflection; The Land We Love; A Backward Glance; Why, Then, Segregation? The Payoff? The Sacred Pattern; Diesel at Sundown; Invisible Sun; Divided Heart—and more. Under such titular covering he has woven a picture, filled with humor and common sense, that even the most die-hard white segregationist must admit carries the ring of fact and truth. And being a product of the region, he cannot be accused of "making a case." He has taken erudite findings in some cases and matched them with folksy popular beliefs, then scrutinized all under the microscope of intelligence, wit, and sound objective judgment.

When he finishes jousting with the mythology of social equality, miscegenation and sexual morality, racial intelligence, Southern history, the Christian spirit, intermarriage, the segregation-desegregation problem, one cannot help but agree with his sage observation: "There is a rich life in the South which flows around and sometimes submerges the islands of

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in a happier mood earlier in the afternoon of the day an attempt was made on his life at an autographing party held in a Harlem department store.

racial isolation. In spite of the worst we have done, this is still a good place to live. It will grow better as we understand it" and realize "the desire for justice among both Negroes and whites is growing stronger"; that the demand for elimination of evils that prevail "is neither so sudden nor so great as we are inclined to think; and "as we tend toward equality of opportunity, our manners will assume again something of the authority and the charm they had in the Old South," with this difference, "they will now be the manners of equality." Of such richness is this book of classic proportions, that it shines like a down-to-earth humanitarian light in a mixed-up America. *Southern Heritage* carries the highest recommendation as a volume that ought to be in the hands of every American, and other people, too. For here the Southern story is set forth as never before in a readable form that even the most intransigent racialist can read, respect, appreciate, and learn from.

HUGH H. SMYTHE.

"GOD'S SPY"

***Stride Toward Freedom:* The Montgomery Story. By Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 230 pp. $2.95.**

Much that is extraordinary in the spirit of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., left its imprint on the successful Montgomery, Alabama, bus strike of 1955-1956. And his pure humanity shows in his attitude toward Mrs. Izola Ware Curry who almost fatally stabbed him in L. M. Blumstein's department store in New York City on September 20. Indomitable energy and courage and the latent fire of enthusiastic resolve in the face of threats of personal violence and mass intimidation made possible Dr. King's use of nonviolence "as the ultimate form of persuasion."

Story of the Montgomery bus boycott is now well-known. One wintry afternoon in December, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested on a Montgomery City Lines bus for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger. She was fined $10.00 in the Montgom-

ery Recorder's Court for violating a state law requiring racial segregation on city buses. When news of Mrs. Parks' arrest spread, Montgomery Negroes held mass meetings and then proceeded to organize the city-wide bus boycott.

Stride Toward Freedom is Dr. King's story of this movement, how it came to be organized, who its leaders were, how he became involved, and the fears and the doubts which at times assailed him. Dr. King had an irresistible influence over his follows and the secret of his strength was that he lived in soul-communion with his God. Two very significant chapters in this book are "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence" and "Where Do We Go From Here?" *Stride Toward Freedom* intensifies our conception of the possibilities of nonviolence and holds out hope for a genuinely democratic America.

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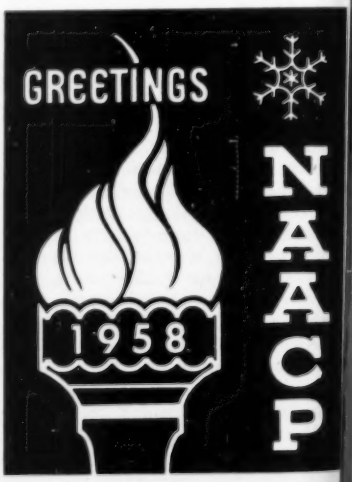

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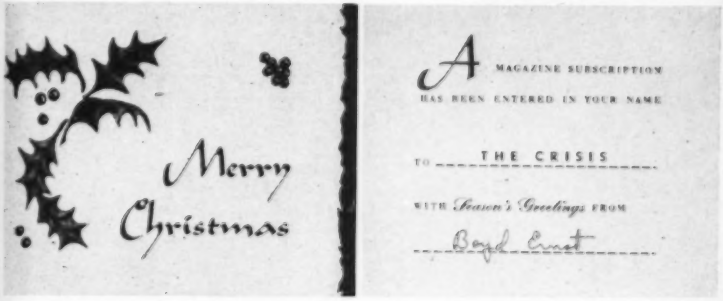

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